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ABSTRACT

Cultural and acculturation patterns should be taken into consideration in the assessment of and development of education programs for culturally and linguistically diverse exceptional (CLDE) children. In order to promote a clearer understanding of the complex process of acculturation, a section is devoted to defining and expanding upon terms related to acculturation and culture, such as: acculturation, culture, adaptation, integration, assimilation, and deculturation. Patterns of acculturation among two groups in the United States--Hispanic and Navajo--are then discussed. The special problems in the area of language ability and development among CLDE children and related research are presented. Educators must avoid underidentifying exceptional needs by attributing learning problems to different and unfamiliar cultural and linguistic background, or overidentifying exceptional needs and ignoring cultural and linguistic characteristics. The cultural characteristics of three ethnic groups (Asian, Hispanic, and Native American) are considered in relation to implications for the special instruction of CLDE children. More research is needed in this area, especially in acculturative and sociolinguistic patterns as they relate to exceptionality, and in the interactive effects of these three factors. In addition, research is needed on cultural and parental attitudes toward exceptional children and how they may affect CLDE children's growth and development, including the use of special services. (MSE)

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ACCULTURATION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CULTURALLY AND LINGUISTICALLY DIFFERENT EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

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May 1983 Paper presented at Symposium on Research in Bilingual Education, Vail

Introduction

There is a growing concern in the United States about the increasing numbers of "aliens" in American society. People worry about how "we" are going to absorb "them", about whether "they"can be assimilated into "our" society, and about what "our" society will be like if all of "these" people from different cultures become members of "ours". Concerns about the acculturation of culturally and linguistically different populations is as old as humanity itself, as old as the first awareness of "we" and "they".

This concern is especially evident at this time in American history. Not since the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century has the United States opened its doors, albeit reluctantly in some cases, to so many refugees, immigrants, and others fleeing economic or political disaster in their home countries. There are not many areas of U.S. society that have not been affected by this new influx of culturally and linguistically different people. In addition, those of our fellow citizens who have retained distinct cultural and linguistic identities continue to claim attention in meeting their special social and educational needs. Many of these special needs and concerns center around the issue of linguistic and social acculturation and the effects of this acculturation on the

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education and development of culturally and linguistically different (CLD) children. For example, many researchers have concerned themselves with the effect of bilingualism upon the cognitive and emotional development of the CLD child (Ben-Zeev 1977, Cummins 1978, Wells 1981, Peal and Lambert 1962, Feldman and Shen 1971).

The need and concern is especially acute for a particular group of these children, culturally and linguistically different exceptional (CLDE) children. Given the possible negative and/or positive effects of acculturative processes upon normal children, the needs of the CLDE child are even more in need of clarification.

In this paper, acculturation among various indigenous and immigrant CLD populations will be discussed as well as some of the effects of this process upon the children's development and education. This discussion will provide the background for further comments about this data in regard to exceptional children. However, a considerable portion of this paper must be devoted to a definition of terms; for only through a clear understanding of what culture and acculturation mean, can the effect of these upon various populations be examined.

Definition of Terms

The common concept of acculturation is that of the "melting pot", the complete assimilation of one group into another. However, assimilation is just one of the possible results of the complex process of acculturation. Although most social scientists would agree with Edward Spicer (1961) that "every contact (between cultures) involves some degree of social and cultural integration", there are several

ways to look at what happens during this contact and integration process.

Before one can understand the dynamic process of culture change termed acculturation, one must consider first what it is that is changing, i.e., culture. Culture is a very broad, encompassing, and complex term. It is usually viewed as the patterns of interaction, communication, and socialization held in common by a particular group of people. Another aspect of culture is that a group of people, in addition to sharing behavioral patterns, values, etc. (i.e., culture) also share a common sense of identity. There is an identifiable "boundary" between members and non-members in the particular culture. This self and external identity becomes especially meaningful in the establishment and longevity of ethnic groups; a type of subculture within a larger cultural body. The cultural 'boundary' has both internal and external indicators, many of which are identical to both insiders and outsiders. For example, both members and non-members of the Navajo culture would recognize fluency in the Navajo language as one possible indicator of Navajo-ness, but probably only members would recognize a lack of speculation as a Navajo trait.*

*Traditional Navajos never speculate about motives or past or future happenings. They report exactly what they see and hear without interpretation. In a study by Henry, 1947, Hopi and Navajo children were asked to make up stories about a set of ambiguous pictures. The Navajos described what they saw and did not try to explain the pictured activity. The Hopi children explained what they thought the people were doing and why they were doing it. They also volunteered what they thought had led up to the activity and what might happen in the future. This type of cultural/cognitive difference has obvious implications in the use of particular curriculum materials or instructional techniques.

As can be seen by these examples, no single indicator alone would identify a member of a culture. It is several indicators in interaction with one another which identify one's cultural identity. Additionally, many cultural elements or indicators are shared by different cultures, especially those in temporal or geographic proximity to one another. This sharing is frequently a result of the process of acculturation and a natural source of many elements within a particular culture at a particular point in time. Of course, some similar cultural elements are the result of the development of similar means of utilizing or coping with a similar physical or social environment rather than of contact. In addition, no two individual members of the cultural group share exactly the same system of cultural knowledge.

Culture is not static; it changes all the time under the influence of both internal and external circumstances. Where several cultures are in contact and there is much movement and communication between social groups and geogrpahic areas, there will, of course, be some overlapping and even some blurring of cultural boundaries. For example, the effect of world-wide proselytizing by various ideologies has spread certain values and believe systems around the world. However, though they may share several ethical and value beliefs, a Vietnamese Christian still would be culturally different from a Zulu Christian as would a Chinese Communist from a Russian Communist.

Social scientists all have a slightly different view of what culture is, depending on their peculiar perspective. Sociologists view cultures as social systems, psychologists as behavior or mental

patterns, economists as exchange systems, etc. Two definitions are herein provided by way of summarizing this discussion of culture. They were selected as especially relevant to later discussions of culture in regard to current ethnic groups, self identified subcultures, within American society. Aragon (1973) defined (ethnic) culture as:

1) Common patterns of communication unique to the group;

2) Common basic diet and food preparation;

3) Similarities in dress and costume;

4) Predictable interpersonal, interfamilial interaction;

5) Common socialization patterns; and

6) Common set of values, beliefs, ethics.

Ward H. Goodenough (1957), a "cognitive anthropologist", defines culture as:

> "Whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members. Culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, behavior, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the form of things that people have in mind, their models of perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them."

Acculturation is a type of culture change initiated by the conjunction of two (or more) cultures. These cultures will be designated C1 and C2 in ensuing discussions. Just as goods and services may be exchanged by the two cultures, so may values, languages, and behavior patters. These languages will be designated L1 and L2 in following discussions. Padilla (1980) suggests that the three stages of acculturation are: contact, conflict, and adaptation. He states that any measurement of acculturation must consider each of these three stages at both the group and individual level. Linton (1940), states that

directed and non-directed situations of contact, i.e., the purpose of the contact, must also be considered. The history, persistence, purpose of the culture contact, the nature of conflict and adaptations to this contact, as well as the individual's exposure to the second culture, interpersonal and intrapersonal conflicts, and personal adaptations, must all be considered.

In regard to contact, it is important to consider the nature, purpose, duration, and permanence of the contact. For example, less acculturation may be expected when the purpose of the contact is mutually desired trade, as in the 19th century between the Tlingits and the British in SE Alaska as opposed to that between the Russians and Eskimos in SW Alaska during the same time period. Greater acculturation would be expected where the purpose is deliberate extermination of beliefs over a long period of time; for example, the effect of the Moravian missionaries among the Yupik Eskimos. As most cultural groups do not lightly give up valued practices, whether economic, religious, or communicative, there is bound to be some degree of resistence to change. This conflict may be manifested in many ways, whether as psychological stress or physical aggression, but will always lead to some form of adaptation. Adaptation is in this sense a reduction of conflict and may take one of four forms, or combination thereof.

These four forms of adaptation in the acculturation process are: integration, assimilation, rejection, and deculturation. Integration occurs when the original culture, C1, is maintained while the group moves into the possibly larger second culture, C2, framework. This

may be either pluralistic, many smaller cultures (ethnic groups) present within a larger, dominant culture, or may be multicultural, many cultural groups on equal terms where diversity itself is valued. Integration may be viewed as: 1) incorporation, transfer of elements from C2 into the appropriate C1 setting, 2) fusion, elements from C1 and C2 combined into one new system, 3) isolation, compartmentalized elements from C2 are accepted into C1 but lack linkages to C1 patterns, and 4) biculturalism, social integration permitting enculturation of the C1 individual in the ways of C2 while retaining his C1. Some theorists include assimilation as one of the types of integration. Assimilation occurs when there is free or coerced movement of C1 into C2, sometimes referred to as "melting pot" (free), or "pressure cooker" (coerced) (Berry, 1980). In assimilation, C1 is not retained over time. In rejection, C1 either is segregated from C2 or undergoes a self imposed withdrawal from C2. This was the case of many Native American groups until the Allotment Act of 1887 and after the termination policies of the first portion of the 20th century. The fourth acculturative adaptation is deculturation. This occurs when a group is out of touch with the traditions of either C1 or C2. It is characterized by alienation, loss of identity, and frequently by active hostility to C2. These 'marginal' groups cannot be said to be C1 any longer and yet are not C2. They have a type of identity of their own, which is valued by members, and are highly resistant to change. However, Stonequist (1935) concludes that these 'marginal' persons may "swing about" and return to C1. This may be seen in some elements of the American Indian Movement.

Another effect of acculturation is acculturative stress. This stress is common though not inevitable during acculturation. Berry (1970) states that acculturative stress is characterized by deviant behavior, psychosomatic symptoms and feelings of marginality. In some ways these are like the behaviors that traditional Navajos experienced whenever they were in contact with CLD people. There is a special healing ceremony to treat the victim of this stress behavior, to cleanse him of the 'alien taint'. Berry also found that variations in stress and acculturation patterns were dependent to some extent upon the cultural and psychological characteristics of the culture group, and the degree and nature of previous contact with CLD groups. For example, the Inuit of northern Alaska and Canada showed high stress when they had low contact but high identification with Western culture, and low stress when they had moderate contact and only moderate identification with Western culture (Chance, 1965). Berry (1976) found Native American groups to show high stress when the original culture was least similar to C2, had moderate contact, and C1 favored rejection of the CLD. Groups showed lower stress when the culture had more similarities to C2, high contact with CLD groups, and favored integration with CLD groups.

The effect of acculturation on particular cultural elements, i.e., language, socialization, and interaction patterns, may vary from culture to culture and person to person. For example, a person may become bilingual in L1 and L2 (integration), may adopt the clothing and economic subsistence activities of C2 (assimilation),

and yet vehemently identify himself as a "mexicano" (rejection). This points up the distinction between individual and group levels of reaction to acculturation. At the individual level, the acculturation process has varied manifestations. The differences at the individual and group levels of reaction to acculturation. At the individual level, the acculturation process has varied manifestations. The differences at the individual and group level must be kep in mind while looking at particular cultural acculturation pattersn. These cultural reactions have also changed over time. For example, in the early 20th century in the U.S., Hungarian immigrants went through assimilation, Navajos continued their generally integrative acculturation, and Chinese evidenced rejection. Nowadays, many previously rejective or assimilated groups are trying to move to integration through asserting their 'ethnic' identity, the "hypenated" individual (Brand, Ruiz, Padilla, 1974).

Not everyone in a culture reacts in the same way to acculturation, however, some general patterns may be described at various points in time. Additionally, these general acculturative patterns are helpful in understanding individual responses within these cultures. Two cultures will be discussed in more detail, Hispanic and Navajo, in regard to their differing acculturation. Special implications for CLDE children will also be considered.

Patterns of Acculturation in the U.S.--Two Examples

HISPANIC

In discussing the acculturation of some Hispanic groups in the U.S., it is necessary to keep in mind that, although these groups

share many characteristics, they also differ substantially in their contact histories, conflict, and adaptation. "Hispanic" is a generic term to describe people from Spanish speaking cultures, usually old colonies of Spain in the Americas, which share many cultural traits with colonial Spanish culture and some with the indigenous peoples of the lands colonized. One of the largest of these Hispanic cultures in the U.S. is Mexican American. This particular group has been slowly acculturating since regular contact with Anglo American culture began after 1848. This was the date of the Treat of Guadelupe Hidalgo when Mexican-occupied lands were ceded to the U.S. at the end of the war between the U.S. and Mexico. There is a marked difference between the acculturation of Mexican Americans during this 135-year period and that of immigrant groups during the same period. Most immigrant groups have either assimilated or integrated fairly well in U.S. society. Hispanic immigrants from Cuba, for example, show a greater rate of assimilation and/or integration than Mexican Americans.

Some of the hypothesized explanations for this differential rate of acculturation are given by Padilla (1980) as: traditional rural background, strong familial ties, proximity to Mexico, and institutional discrimination (which cuts down on participation in C2). However, Padilla goes on to state that none of these (except possibly institutionalized discrimination to a slight extent) has been demonstrated to be a significant element in the acculturation of Mexican Americans. His own research indicates cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty have a significant relationship to acculturation. He also

cites research by Clark, Kaufman, and Pierce (1976) which indicates that age and generation are the most important factors. Education is also a factor in that the less education, the less acculturated the person tends to be. More education resulted in more balance between C1 and C2, usually termed integration. The most highly educated tended to be the most assimilated in this study. Padilla does not distinguish between assimilation and integration, however, so his findings in relation to education need some clarification.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1960) viewed the factors in Hispanic acculturation to be valuing "being" rather than "doing", present-time orientation, and extended familial ties. Their assumption was the more highly 'acculturated' the group became, the weaker the familial ties (not distinguishing between integration and assimilation). However, Keefe (1980) has shown that , in actuality, interaction between primary and secondary kin (Mexican American) increases as cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty decrease (Padilla's measure of acculturation). The core of a culture may be found in the family setting, i.e., the values, socialization, patterns, language, etc. This core is highly resistant to change within the primary support group, more resistant to change than such "superficial traits as cultural knowledge or awareness" (Keefe 1980). The benefits of this retention of strong family ties in the process of acculturation may be seen in the integration of such groups as Jews and Japanese, into American society, many of whom also exhibit great socio-economic mobility and high socio-economic status within American society. Other evidence that strong extended familial ties does not necessarily inhibit either

acculturation or socio-economic mobility is the assimilation of groups such as the Amish (rejection), Irish (assimilation), and Italians (integration).

The influence of familial and cultural socialization (child rearing and training) patterns is of special importance in the growth and development of children. Socialization and interfamilial interaction patterns are affected by acculturation in the same way that language, economic subsistence, and other cultural elements are. There is also an interactive effect among these elements. In regard to the growth and development of children, one sees acculturative effects upon their language, cognitive style, personality, and self concept. These are of special concern in the exceptional child's development of his full potential.

Studies by Marion (1980) and Knepper (1976) have shown that minority parents tend to be more protective of their exceptional children than mainstream American parents. The generally supportive family environment in the Hispanic home is both beneficial and potentially detrimental to CLDE children with various types of handicaps. For example, the visually impaired may become too dependent upon family members for guidance and be delayed in developing independence. Additionally, the hearing impaired child may become dependent on family members for communicative assistance. On the other hand, the hearing impaired may be identified early as there tends to be a high level of verbal exchange in the home. However, identification may be delayed due to high reliance and competence in using gesture and non-verbal cues in communication. This will become a benefit in the

later acquisition of sign language and total communication. The retarded individual within the Hispanic home will tend to be protected and assured of a place in his community despite his limitations. The close cooperative nature of the Hispanic socialization pattern would also indicate that these children might respond best to team teaching, mediation, group reinforcement techniques as opposed to traditional 'individualized' instruction.

Some studies indicated that the interactive effects of acculturation upon the home may actually produce some handicapping conditions. In one study of Hispanic acculturation, Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) found indications of emotional disturbance, as a sign of acculturative stress in the socialization patterns of the home. Individuals living in a bicultural context became maladjusted when they tried to remain C1 or tried to change wholly to C2. In other words, attempting to remain or become monocultural in a bicultural context resulted in maladjustment, emotional disturbance. In this study, mothers who resisted acculturation, who did not integrate C1 and C2, demonstrated abuse of tranquilizers and exhibited neurotic behavior. Their adolescent sons showed patterns of rejecting C1 and trying to become completely C2, as well as evidence of broad spectrum drug abuse.

In summary, the differing acculturation patterns of Hispanic populations must be taken into consideration in the assessment and instruction of Hispanic exceptional children. The interactive effects of a particular child's acculturation and the child's exceptional condition(s) must be considered in developing appropriate

programs for that child.

NAVAJO

The Navajo culture as it is today is an excellent example of the type of acculturation termed incorporative integration. The "traditional" subsistence patterns of sheepherding, dry farming, food preparation, and clothing, for example, are incorporated elements from other cultures and were not part of Navajo culture when the tribe first entered the SW in the 12th century. When the Spanish first contacted the Apachean people they called the Navajo Apaches in 1630, their use of adopted Pueblo agricultural techniques was very apparent. Navajo mythology clearly gives the Pueblos credit for the introduction of agriculture to the Navajo. Upon contact with Spanish-Mexican culture, the Navajos acquired sheep, horses, and weaving techniques (partly Spanish, partly Pueblo). Navajo culture developed during this period 1630-1846 into one of the "outstanding pastoral cultures in the New World" and constituted a political and military threat to settled Pueblo and Spanish villages until the arrival of U.S. troops in 1846 during the Mexican War (Vogt 1961).

Spicer (1961) hypothesizes that the flourishing of this incorporative integration was due to the fact that C1/C2 contact during this period was non-directed. That is, Navajos were not subject to sanctions in the C2 nor were the surrounding C2s (Spanish, Anglo, Pueblo) interested in changing the cultural behavior of the Navajos. The Navajos did not experience any directed program of change until their incarceration in Fort Sumner (1864-1868) and only sporadically after their return to the reservation. Given the continued strength

of integration in Navajo acculturation, Spicer also concludes that a successful pattern of response persists even under less favorable conditions. Some shifts have occurred in response to changes in the contact situation, but the underlying pattern remains. The Navajos remained fundamentally unchanged and with essentially the same values despite the enrichment of content. Nothing important to the pre-Spanish Navajo cultural system was replaced by innovation from the Pueblos or Spaniards, and little from the Anglos (Vogt 1961). In spite of the inauguration of directed change by the BIA/U.S. Government, incorporative adjustment is still a significant part of acculturation among the Navajos. However, some signs of assimilation are increasingly evident, especially among children who have been educated away from home at BIA boarding schools or as part of the Mormon 'adoption' program.

The education and hence acculturation of Navajo children is viewed as very important to the Navajo community. Navajo culture has always been particularly concerned with mental and physical health. Thus the incorporation of 'Anglo education' into the traditional socialization process has not been especially stressful. However, there is a strong feeling that both C1 and C2 have value and should remain balanced, each respected for its strengths and particular contributions to mental and physical well being.

This focus upon curing illness and maintaining healthiness have peculiar import in regard to the growth and development of Navajo exceptional children. Emotional disturbances are seen as falling within the domain of Navajo treatment while physical disability is

now, relatively, whole heartedly given over to Anglo treatment. This is a simple matter of practicality in Navajo eyes: Navajo modes of treatment are more successful in treating mental illness while Anglo modes of treatment are more successful in treating physical illness. Where no obvious physical handicap, discernible to eye, ear or hand is evident, Navajos tend to think that Anglo treatment is inappropriate.

This also holds for severe physical disabilities which cannot be 'cured'. In the Navajo way, 'treatment' is unsuccessful or inappropriate if it does not result in full normalization. This obviously puts a special burden on children with severe handicaps. For example, the mildly or moderately retarded Navajo child would be assured of a place within the home and community that met his particular abilities, whereas the severely or profoundly retarded child may have more difficulties in being accepted. This would depend largely on the child's ability to function in the home environment. People do not expect anything more of an individual than they can actually do. A person that had demonstrated he could do more but did not might be teased as lazy, but the person who could not do more than he was doing would be politely accepted as such. However, a severely retarded child, especially if his handicap is accompanied by other physical disabilities, would be hard to accommodate within the traditional home or community. In several cases, as long as the child was able to be accommodated within the role of 'infant', he was maintained and accepted at home. However, when he grew too large to be carried on a cradle board, even a specially made large one, the parents

sought out the help of the Anglo 'medicine man'.

A Navajo child with a communication disorder, whether caused by hearing impairment or speech problem, might go undetected for a long time. Children are expected to be quiet and observant. In one case, three children from the same family were essentially nonverbal in the presence of adults and had to be taught to speak L1 and L2 when they entered school. There is evidence that hearing impairment is not uncommon (high incidence of otitis media) and, therefore, people are accustomed to mild to moderate hearing loss, with conseuqent reduction in verbal response. In addition, 'talkiness' in general is frowned upon, so a 'quiet' person may simply be accepted as a very polite person. Navajo communities accept a wide range of abilities and accommodate them within the work hierarchy. Therefore, communication or hearing impairment would not be perceived as a tremendous handicap unless or until it interfered with the basic functioning of the household. The same measure of accommodation is applied to any condition or behavior; if an exceptional condition can be accommodated within the home/community without disruption of normal functioning of the social group, then it is not a"problem" and generally ignored.

In conclusion, the socialization and acculturation patterns of Navajo culture need to be considered in the assessment of the development of programs for Navajo exceptional children. Some techniques may be more or less effective than others. The accommodation attitude of the home and community can be both beneficial and detrimental depending on the severity of the handicapped, and the needs of the child. All of these concerns must be incorporated into the special programs for Navajo exceptional children.

Language Development Among CLDE Children

One area of special concern for all CLDE children is language development. Language ability is critical to educational development and a special problem for CLDE children, exceptional and non-exceptional. It is a special problem because the American school system is, generally speaking, ill prepared to deal with children who do not speak English. In those schools where there is someone trained to handle limited English proficient children (LEP), either to teach them content in their native language (L1) or to teach them English as a second language (L2), the needs of LEP children who are also handicapped is rarely met. The special education teacher is not prepared to deal with non-English speakers, and the bilingual teacher is not prepared to deal with exceptional children. This is a current issue in education which is being dealt with in various ways but needs further research and development. In the meantime, there has been much research into the effects of bilingualism on the language development of non-exceptional children. This will be reviewed briefly here with implications for exceptional children noted as possible.

Research has shown that the quality of the child/adult language interaction in the home is especially significant as a predictor of later cognitive development (Wells 1981). In homes where the parents are competent L1 speakers but marginal L2 speakers, conversations in L2 are not going to be of high quality or quantity. And yet this is frequently the recommendation of school teachers to the parents of CLDE children who have special language needs, that they speak English to their children. Chesarek (1981) has shown that this was detrimental

to academic and language development among Crow children. In his study, he compared the language and academic achievement of children from homes where C1 or C1/C2 parents spoke to the child in L1, with children from homes where C1 or C1/C2 parents spoke to the child in L2. The L1 children made a superior transition to L2 in school programs and showed superior academic performance.

The implications of this research for parents of exceptional children are clear. They should continue to speak to thier children using the language in which they feel most comfortable. Additional research (Ianco-Worrall 1972; Leopold 1954) has shown that the child will learn both L1 and L2 if one parent uses one and the other parent the other (given that the parents are proficient or native speakers of these languages). However, the highest possible quality of language interaction must be obtained and balanced.

In cultures where the parents do not normally interact much verbally with their children, this might not be an effective way to provide special assistance to exceptional LEP children. However, parent training programs among the Eskimos and Navajos have shown that this can be a relatively easily incorporated activity which CLDE parents can integrate into their own C1 socialization patterns. This training also helps improve parental attitude toward exceptional children. Training and education as facilitators of acculturation (Padilla 1980) has been shown to have a marked effect upon attitude, especially 'negative' cultural attitudes towards the handicapped. Tseng (1972) showed that acculturation, length of residence, and decrease in stress, among Asians resulted in a more positive attitude

toward the handicapped.

Cummins (1977) hypothesized that a basic threshold of linguistic competence must be attained by the bilingual child. This threshold must be attained in order to avoid cognitive deficits and to allow the beneficial aspects of bilingualism to influence cognitive growth. If the bilingual child's competence in his two languages remains below this threshold, his verbal interaction with his environment is unlikely to promote cognitive growth and development. This has serious implications for CLDE children. If their handicap is such as to impair their attainment of this linguistic threshold, the primary goal of their education must be this attainment or compensation for lack of this attainment if necessary. Obviously the child's dominant, probably native language must be the language of instruction. The introduction of L2 instruction before the threshold is reached will seriously impair and possibly prevent further cognitive development (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa 1976).

Finally, Greenlee (1981) cites research on the presence of code switching and sociolinguistic competencies among Hispanic mentally retarded children which has great educational implications. He concluded that the assessment of language development in the mentally retarded should tap sociolinguistic communicative competence as well as formal linguistic structures, and that programs should consider sociolinguistic factors and approaches. He also concluded that traditional language intervention programs for the mentally retarded were inappropriate for CLDE children, possibly for any children.

Some Implications for the Special Instruction of CLDE Children

This section will address the effects of bilingual language development and acculturation characteristics in regard to the special needs of CLDE children. Three ethnic American populations will be examined: Asian, Hispanic, and Native American. It should be kept in mind that these population categories are stereotypic to a great extent. There are subgroup variations within these categories (Navajos differ from Eskimos, Koreans from Hmong, and Cubans from Puerto Ricans) as well as variation from one individual child to another. However, there are common cultural characteristics which may be generalized from these populations and can assist in understanding individual needs and responses to the educational environment.

Characteristics of the sociolinguistic and socialization patterns (elements of culture) will be discussed for each culture. These will be discussed in regard to their effect upon and interaction with various exceptional conditions. Implications for appropriate assessment and instructional programs will be included in each of these discussions. The stereotypic nature of the cultural descriptions must be kept in mind throughout this discussion.

Asian

One of the most noticeable characteristics of Asian cultures is their strong sense of shame when unable to satisfy expectations of behavior and/or achievement. These high expectations of achievement are another important cultural trait. Combined, these two traits have serious consequences for exceptional children. The sense of shame may

prevent parents from seeking assistance from public agencies, for example, mental health services for emotionally disturbed children (Sato 1979). This sense of family shame may result even if the child is merely referred for special assessment. The parents readily perceive the request for permission to assess as meaning that the child is having or being a problem. This makes the family look bad and may result in gossip about them in their ethnic community.

The Asian family may try to disassociate themselves from the problem child at this point. This can be seen in such statements as "he's always been different from the rest of us" can mean even more social and emotional problems for the child (Aylesworth and Ly 1983). This disassociation can also result in misinformation about the child's development prior to entering school. The family may 'explain away' the present problem by some particular past event which may well have nothing to do with the present difficulty. An example of this is "he was dropped on his head once" (Aylesworth and Ly 1983). These feelings of shame and disassociation can have serious effects on the child as well as making comprehensive assessment difficult.

One solution to this would be <u>not</u> to say to the parents that the CLDE child is having trouble or learning problems. It is preferable to tell the parents that the school is trying to come up with better approaches for teaching and they need assessment information to develop the best program to meet the needs of each child. It may also be advisable to tell the parents that their child is not the only one being evaluated, that other children are also being

assessed. Additionally, it has been shown in a study by Tseng (1972) that Asians became less negative toward the disabled as they became more acculturated into American society.*

Some of the behaviors of Asian students, appropriate within their cultures, may be mistaken for characteristics of various exceptional conditions within the school setting. For example, not maintaining eye contact is one of the measures of emotional and behavioral disturbance (EBD) on a lengthy checklist used in the Boulder Valley School District. However, not giving direct eye contact is a sign of respect in many Asian cultures (Woodward 1981). Many of the behaviors listed on this EBD checklist, and others like it, are not appropriate indicators of emotional disturbance in Asian children. Studies have also shown that Indochinese refugees suffering from various emotional disturbances as a result of war trauma can be treated more effectively by native healers than by Anglo doctors (Barber 1983). More culturally appropriate measures must be developed.

Another behavior which may be mistaken as symptomatic of an exceptionality is the inability to follow directions or answer general questions. This may be due to having different experiences or to not understanding English rather than a learning or hearing disability. Limited English proficiency in Asian students may have two effects on their assessment. First, they may be wrongly identified as having a handicap when their behavior is consistent with their culture or

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*Acculturation does not mean assimilated. It refers to the process by which members of one culture adapt to the presence of another culture. This adaptation may be through integration, assimilation, rejection, or deculturation (Padilla 1980).

language background, or consistent with their level of second language development. Second, true exceptionality may be overlooked or even misidentified by assuming most or all of the students' learning problems stem from limited English proficiency or lack of familiarity with American culture. The assessment of CLDE children must take both possibilities into consideration. Problems may be due to one or the other of these reasons or to a combination of both.

Asian high achievement expectation and shame at not meeting these expectations have varied implications for instruction. The special educator will have to be particularly concerned with developing and maintaining positive self concept in the student, and sensitive to the parents' reaction to comments about their children's learning problems. In addition, children may work very hard trying to succeed even when the tasks are extremely difficult. This energy should be channeled into achieving attainable goals and tasks within the ability of the CLDE child.

The teacher will also need to provide the CLDE child with extra encouragement and experience in developing independence. Children in many Asian cultures are passive learners and dependent on authority figures for direction. They are expected to be quiet, inconspicuous, and not initiate interaction with adult/authority figures (Woodward 1981).

In summary, Asian CLDE children may behave in particular ways because of their cultural and linguistic background. They may behave in certain ways due to their exceptionality. Finally, they may behave in these ways because of the interaction of these characteristics.

All of these must be taken into consideration in the assessment of and education planning for CLDE children.

Hispanic

The same two effects in regard to the assessment of Asian children must be considered with Hispanic children. Firstly, characteristic behaviors associated with various exceptionalities may be 'explained away' as being due to the culture or language background of the child. Secondly, on the other hand, behaviors appropriate to the linguistic and cultural background of the child may be erroneously ascribed to the presence of an exceptional condition.

This can be especially evident in reference to speech and hearing, emotional, and learning disabilities. The effect of bilingualism upon language development has been studied extensively (Leopold 1954, Ianco-Worral 1972 and others) including studies with mentally retarded and learning disabled CLDE children. It has been shown that bilingualism and the process of learning a second language do not retard or delay the cognitive nor language development of the CLDE child, so long as the child has developed an adequate language base in his own native/home language (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa 1976, Cummins 1978, among others). However, Cummins (1977) has hypothesized that cognitive development of bilingual children may be impaired if the child does not reach a particular threshold of linguistic competence. In the exceptional child this may well occur due to differences in experience, perceptive, or receptive ability. However, Greenlee (1981) indicated that mentally retarded Hispanic children have many sociolinguistic competencies which could be incorporated into their

instructional programs.

This sociolinguistic competence may be partially due to the highly verbal environment of the Hispanic home and the great use of gesture and nonverbal cues in communication. This can have both positive and negative effects on the Hispanic exceptional child. If the child is quiet and less responsive than siblings, there may be early recognition of potential problems. On the other hand, the child's skill at interpreting nonverbal cues may mask a serious speech or learning problem. Once a hearing handicap has been identified, however, the Hispanic child's sensitivity to nonverbal and gestural communication will aid in his acquiring alternate means of communicating.

It has been shown by Knepper (1976) and Marion (1980) that Hispanic parents tend to be more protective of their exceptional child than Anglo parents. This may mean that the teacher will need to develop and encourage independent behavior in the handicapped child. On the other hand, parents can be motivated to learn and be trained in appropriate instructional techniques to use with their child. The strength of Hispanic family and community ties may be used to assist in providing supportive efforts in treating emotional disturbance and substance abuse, also. Additionally, the Hispanic family and community tend to accept individuals in spite of any limitations. The retarded or handicapped individual will be assured a place in the community or family adapted to his or her abilities.

The gifted Hispanic child may be reluctant to set herself apart

from her peers. However, family ties are strong and the gifted child could be encouraged and willing to achieve for the benefits to her/his family. On the other hand, the fact that all who are capable are expected to help within the Hispanic family may result in the gifted child not being recognized as having special needs. The teacher will need to encourage and develop self-developmental skills in the Hispanic gifted child as well as provide a stimulating, challenging, enriching educational environment.

In summary, the very cultural elements viewed by some as detrimental to the acculturation of Hispanics (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961) and by some as positive (Keefe 1980) can become strong supportive elements in providing appropriate instruction to and developing cognitive and affective skills in Hispanic exceptional children. Cultural and linguistic characteristics can have both positive and negative effects upon the education of CLDE children, but, in any case, must be considered in their assessment and education.

Native American

From the educators' viewpoint, a passive learning style is probably the most noteworthy cultural characteristic of Native American students. Children are expected to be quiet and observant and not to become noticeable in any way. There is also a great dependence on visual learning; children are expected to learn how to do things by watching their elders. There are several implications for the school program in regard to these cultural traits.

The great emphasis on visual learning has obvious implications for visually impaired Native American children. These children may

have great difficulty adjusting to their disability and may be subjected to ridicule by their peers for using glasses. The teacher will have to encourage the child to use his glasses, and it might be advisable to always keep a pair at school.

This early development of visual perceptual skills may be used by the teacher of Native American exceptional children who are not visually impaired. The teacher can incorporate a lot of 'demonstration' into her lessons as well as the use of such psycholinguistic techniques as 'parallel' and 'self' talk. 'Parallel talk' is similar to the traditional way Native American elders teach children. The strength of observation skills will also be an advantage ot hearing impaired children in developing alternate means of receiving communication. However, hearing loss is generally not considered a tremendous handicap in many Native American communities, due to the emphasis on the visual mode and to the high incidence of hearing loss (otitis media) on reservations.

Ridicule is a characteristic means of social control in many Native American groups and can be both beneficial and detrimental to exceptional children. The ridicule of the use of prosthesis, hearing aid, glasses, etc., may keep the CLDE child from using these as much as is necessary or of becoming shy of being in groups and developing socio-emotional problems. However, ridicule is an accepted social behavior and the child may not react so much to the ridicule as to the frustration at not being able to dispense with the item that makes him stand out. Additionally, ridicule can be a useful, and effective means of dealing with some emotional and behavioral problems

(such as delinquency) in Native American children. However, the teacher must be very careful that any ridicule used is culturally appropriate and directed at the target behavior, not the child. It is probably best to leave this 'treatment' to the family.

The Native American community accepts a wide range of ability and an exceptional child would be assured a place in the community in spite of his/her limitations. Severe or profound disabilities may not be so easily accommodated. However, a very wide range of capability can be accommodated into the family and community work hierarchy, especially in more traditional communities. In some ways, they are actually more accommodating to retarded indviduals than gifted.

Native American children are even more reluctant to be singled out for achievement than Hispanic children. Overt displays of success and leadership may be actively discouraged by ridicule and ostracism. The gifted child may deliberately hide his or her ability to avoid being noticed or singled out. The teacher should learn to encourage and develop the child's abilities without making public comments or drawing special attention to them. Having the gifted child work in a small mixed group and praising the work of the whole group would be preferrable to individual praise in front of the group. Even praise in private may be inappropriate in some tribes. Discrete praise to the parents during a home visit may be appropriate, but most Native American parents are suspicious of effusive Anglo praise. Some parents would interpret this as the school trying to wean the child away from his people.

In general, the same cautions are true for Native American exceptional children as for Asian children, without the elements of shame and great expectations. Both cultures have relatively negative reactions to physical deformity or impairment, while the Native American culture is more accepting of a wide range of mild to moderate exceptionality. The same two points mentioned in regard to both the Hispanic and Asian cultures must be considered in regard to the potential misidentification or masking of exceptionality.

Conclusion

In conclusion, cultural and acculturation patterns must be taken into consideration in the assessment of and development of education programs for CLDE children. More research is needed in this area, notably in acculturative and sociolinguistic patterns in regard to exceptionality and the interactive effects of these three elements. In addition, more research is needed into cultural and parental attitudes towards exceptional children and how this may affect the growth and development of CLDE children. A related area to this is how cultural attitude may affect utilization of special services. Sato (1979) found that the Asian concept of 'shame' prevented Pacific/Asian emotionally disturbed from seeking or utilizing community mental health services.

The cultural characteristics of three major American ethnic groups have been considered in regard to their implications for the special instruction of CLDE children. Cultural and linguistic characteristics, exceptional needs, and the interactive effects of these upon the child's special learning needs, must all be taken into consideration

in the assessment and instruction of CLDE children. The educator must avoid underidentifying exceptional needs by attributing learning problems to the diverse cultural and linguistic background of the child. The educator must also avoid overidentifying exceptional needs for ignoring these diverse cultural and linguistic characteristics and their interactive effects.

These and other issues must be addressed as the American school system applies itself to providing an equal educational opportunity in the least restrictive environment for culturally and linguistically different exceptional children.

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